THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

VOL. II.—No. 25. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1915. PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

Donations to be sent to Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Sec., Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

MEETINGS LIST.

Friday, Sept. 3rd.

Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Manicom.
Piggott St., 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Miss Smyth.
Beckton Rd., 8 p.m., Mr. Everett.
Ford Road, 8 p.m., Miss Manicom.

Saturday, Sept. 4th.

Rathbone St., "Whitehouse," 8 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss Manicom
"Boleyn," Green St., 9 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst, Miss Manicom.

Sunday, Sept. 5th.

Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Miss S. Pankhurst, Mrs. Schlette.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Miss O'Callaghan, Mrs. Bouvier.
Victoria Park, 3.30 p.m., Miss Fraser Smith, Miss Manicom.

Monday, Sept. 6th.

Morning Lane and Well St., 3 p.m., Miss Manicom, Miss Bennett.
Median Road, 4.30 p.m., Miss Manicom, Miss Bennett.
Armagh Road, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch.
Hague St., 9 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch.
Lesbia Rd., 8 p.m., Mr. Mackinlay.
"Peacock," 8 p.m., Mr. Everett.
Dock Gates, 8 p.m., Miss Lynch.

Tuesday, Sept. 7th.

Salmon Lane, 8 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Chrisp St., and Grundy St., 9 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Smith.
Sloane Square, 1 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier and others.
Poplar Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Schlette, Mrs. Tollon.

Wednesday, Sept. 8th.

"Salmon and Ball," 3 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Bennett.
Morpeth Street, 4 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Bennett.
Highgate Station, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mr. Everett.
Ford Rd., 7 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Chrisp St., 8.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.

Thursday, Sept. 9th.

Hackney Factory Meeting, 1 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Manicom.
175 Dalston Lane, 8 p.m., Miss O'Callaghan, Miss Manicom.
124 Barking Rd., 8 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Custom House, 5 p.m., Miss Lynch.
53 St. Leonard's St., 8 p.m., Mrs. McLeod.

Friday, Sept. 10th.

Tower Hill, 12.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Miss O'Callaghan.
Piggott St., 8 p.m., Miss Lynch.
Beckton Rd., 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
Poplar Women's Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

MOTHERS AND BABIES.

The calls on our four mother and baby centres, for milk, eggs, medicines, and doctoring and nursing care, will become more frequent and more urgent as the summer advances. Will you help by sending us some money for this work?

Will you send us new laid eggs, arrowroot, barley, glaxo or virol?

Will you send us a maternity outfit?

We want:—For baby, four gowns, four barrows, two flannel bands, twelve napkins, three vests, and a cot blanket; for mother, two nightgowns, woollen shawl, three towels, two sheets, and a pair of pillow cases.

Mothers and Children should make a point of attending the weekly consultations with nurse and doctor at:—

400 Old Ford Rd., Bow, Mondays 2.30 p.m.; 20 Railway St., Poplar, Tuesdays 3 p.m.; 53 St. Leonard's St., Thursdays 2.30 p.m.; 55 Fife Rd., Canning Town, Mondays, 2 to 4 p.m.

THE SWEATING SCANDAL.

A wholesale and retail tobacco firm in Liverpool, which sends tobacco to the troops, has a large poster displayed with the words: "This beats the Germans." Girls working there state that they work 72 hours per week; are fined 1d. for every five minutes late; the highest wages mentioned by any one of them was 11s. per week for a girl 21 years of age of 3½ years' service with the firm, and the wages fluctuated between that sum, 5s. and 5s. 6d. for girls of 20 and 22 years of age, one with two years' service.

Tobacco is a state monopoly in Germany and, as is usual in conscript countries, state clerks are badly paid; but *are* girls as badly paid as this?

The Leeds Corporation is employing six women keepers in the city's park at Roundhay. They commence work at 8 a.m. and finish at 5 p.m., and are allowed an hour for dinner. Their wages average 16s. 6d. per week.

The Press says that "the women are enjoying the experience, and that the healthy outdoor life is much preferable to being confined to the house with household duties to perform.

But how much were the men paid?

HIGH-SHERIFF BREAKS LAW.

At Douglas, Isle of Man, on August 27th, Richard Cooil, a gasworker, was fined 20s., with the alternative of ten days imprisonment, for refusing to sign his National Registration form. It is reported that he became very violent in court on Thursday, and was remanded. In reply to the High-sheriff, he repeated his intention of refusing to sign the form.

The National Register Act gives no power to imprison, therefore the High-sheriff has broken the law.

FREEDOM!

At the Sheffield Munitions' Court, Joseph Johnson, of Amberley Street, a fitter employed by Davy Bros., Ltd., who are making plant for munition factories, stated that as he could get no house in Sheffield he wanted to return to Grantham. His wife was very ill, and he wished to live at home. The managing director of Davy Bros. said that "Johnson was working in connection with shell-making and could not be spared. It was the duty of every man to do the work most needed by the country, and to put that before *personal convenience*, but when Johnson was told that his reply was: 'I would as soon be under the Kaiser as under the English Government.' If men were allowed to leave their employ for the various reasons brought forward the firm could never get on. The object of the Act was to prevent shifting about."

The Court decided to postpone the case for a week to make inquiries, and advised Johnson to return to work for that period.

SOME OF THE E.L.F.S. MEMBERS AT RICHMOND.

We are told that girls are being employed to do men's work at the Maypole Dairy, Poplar, and are paid 16s. a week.

Two hundred women are being trained in Liverpool to take the place of postmen in suburban areas. "The officials are very pleased with the class of women who have come forward." The wages range from 17s. to 21s. weekly.

Mr. Charles M'Evoy writing to the *Daily Mail* from Aldbourne, Wilts, points out that labourer's wives are working in his district for 1s. a day, and doing as much work as men.

All the English and Scottish railway companies have, it is announced, agreed that the employment of women is an emergency provision arising out of the War. The pay of the women is to be at the *minimum* rate for the various grades in which they are employed. These conditions are to date from August 16th.

REFUSING TO REGISTER.

Miss Raleigh of Stratford on Avon refused to sign the National Register because she is denied a Parliamentary Vote.

She was summoned before the magistrate, fined £3 and costs which she refused to pay and nothing further has happened up to date.

There is a drop of 14s. a quarter in the price of wheat. Our bread *should* be cheaper.

A thousand steelworkers, members of the British Steel Smelters' Society, who are employed at Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co.'s Openshaw Works, Manchester, threaten to strike because of the discharge of 151 men in the armour-plate department and the withholding from them of certificates enabling them to obtain work elsewhere, the result being that they have been placed by the Munitions of War Act in the position of having to remain workless and payless for a period of five weeks.

Some of the men have been offered work at Barrow at higher wages for shorter hours; but must wait for their discharge certificates. The men do not wish to strike; but as the rights of the workers are so ruthlessly ignored nothing else remains. More than a fortnight has passed since they complained to the Ministry of Munitions, but without result. The men compare this delay with the promptness which enables a firm to haul a man before the Munitions' Tribunal within 24 hours if they say he has committed a breach of the Munitions Act.

Meanwhile 151 useful workers are idle—penniless in their homes! When will this system of one law for the employer and another for the worker cease?

The Berlin Tramway Company now employs 2,700 women conductors. It is stated that the entire staff of conductors (4,900) will soon be replaced by women.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

SCHOOL CHILDREN STRIKE.

As a result of a venture in economy on the part of the Education Authorities, there is a school strike in East Ham. The Committee have reorganised Shrewsbury Road School for Infants, and done away with Standards IV., V., VI., and VII., all the scholars in those classes having been told to go to Sandringham Road. The object, first of all, is to help to reduce the expenses of maintenance of Shrewsbury Road School, which is an old school and requires a considerable sum to be spent upon it to bring it up to *modern* educational requirements; secondly, to make better use of the accommodation of Sandringham Road School.

From school to school the distance is a mile, Monega Road School is only five minutes from Shrewsbury Road, so the parents naturally argue: "if Shrewsbury Road is out of the question, let us send our children to the nearest school."

In March of this year a ballot paper was issued to parents of scholars in the 4th Standard and upwards, asking if they were in favour of their children being transferred to Sandringham Road School. A majority of 75 per cent. voted against this. As this did not satisfy the Education Committee, an officer was sent to each one of this majority to endeavour to obtain an opposite decision.

One of the parents told us that when the officer chanced on the mother of one of the children, he told her she was "a silly woman to object, as no one else in that street had done so." This method got many women to agree, because no one wished to be the "only one," so the officer marked such papers with "Yes."

Now every day, the children who wish to go to their old school present themselves there for admission, and are refused. The number increases daily, being now between 60 and 70.

If these children were to go to Sandringham Road School it would mean a walk of at *least* four miles every day—that is if they could find time to come home between 12.15 and 1.25 for dinner! How many parents are in a position to provide good shoes, or how can any educational authority expect a child to go through such hardship? Surely at the present day parents should be able to send their children to the school they choose.

Voteless women have been taken advantage of by the officials. Men are bungling these matters hopelessly. No woman would unnecessarily ask a growing child to tramp such a distance in all weathers to school, nor hand infants over to a school not "modern" enough for older children.

It is time women were allowed to take a large share in public affairs, *at least* in all matters pertaining to children!

Order the "Dreadnought" through your newsagent. See that he stocks it!

The League of Rights for Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives will help you to get the money that you are entitled to from the War Office and the Admiralty. Join it and help to protect yourselves and your comrades! Write to us for the address of the nearest Branch Secretary.

LEAGUE OF RIGHTS

For Soldiers' and Sailors' Wives and Relatives.

EAST LONDON BRANCHES.

BOW BRANCH meets at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Rd., 8 p.m., every Tuesday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. M. Lansbury.

BROMLEY BRANCH meets at 53 St. Leonard's St., 8 p.m., every Tuesday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. McCheyne.

POPLAR BRANCH meets at 20 Railway St., 8 p.m., every Tuesday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. Drake.

WEST HAM BRANCH meets at 55 Fife Rd., 8 p.m., every Monday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. Millo.

EAST HAM BRANCH meets at Essex Hall, Wakefield St., 8 p.m., every Monday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. Thompson.

WALTHAMSTOW BRANCH meets at William Morris Hall, 3 p.m., every Thursday. *Hon. Sec.:* Mrs. Bush.

Sunday Meeting

HYDE PARK

September 5th. **3** p.m.

Speakers:

Mrs. BOUVIER, Miss O'CALLAGHAN.

The

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

THE MINER AND THE STRIKE.

In the deep and narrow valleys of the South Wales coal-field the great hills frown, through the heavy smoke of the tall chimneys of the collieries, upon the miners' little homes. Dull-hued grass, in which no flowers grow, covers the steep hill-sides, and big dismal heaps of coal dust and refuse from the mines rival in size the hills themselves.

Sometimes the refuse is piled on the hills until it has grown so steep and high that it has been known to come sliding down, burying the houses in its path. Sometimes it is tipped in the valleys, growing in mountainous heaps amongst the dwelling houses. Refuse from the pits is built up on both banks of the streams, and one sees men building stone casings over the water, in order that it may still flow on when the refuse has been poured in to fill up the deep gorge through which the water ran.

Children sometimes fall down the steep hills of refuse and occasionally one is killed, and this is natural, for many of the houses are built within a few feet of unguarded perilous descents.

On to the black dusty heaps of refuse from the mines the refuse from the houses is also thrown, and dust and filth of all kinds blow into the houses.

From a train window all the works of man, except the refuse tips and the mine chimneys, look curiously small. A few dilapidated sheds, some gaunt iron-work and the battered iron trucks, called "trams," in which the coal is carried, are all that one sees of the coal mines. The numberless colliery villages, consisting as they do of row upon row of tiny cottages, seem built for mankind in miniature.

One passes place after place in which every house appears to have been built at one time and of one pattern—hard, new, purple-grey slate roofs, drab cement walls and chimney stacks of brick, red in one village, yellow in another. Or perhaps, as at Abertridw, the walls are bright red brick, or, as at Abertillery, the walls are grey stone and the chimneys yellow brick.

HOUSING CONDITIONS.

In the older districts, such as Merthyr and Dowlais and in parts of the Rhondda Valley, much terribly bad housing still obtains, though many improvements have been made.

Dwellings are huddled together without plan and with little air space or walking room between, the one in front blocking the light of those that are behind. Back to back houses are the rule in many places. "Top and bottom" houses are also common, the "top" house, or upper half of the building being entered from an upper street, and the "bottom" house from a street lower down the hill. The back of the "bottom" house is built up against the rising earth, and is thus always damp. Water oozes through it, even pours down it, at every rainfall. The wall-paper will not remain on. The plaster crumbles off. The furniture rots. The atmosphere is always dank and unwholesome.

The rents for such miserable dwellings of two or four rooms vary from 3s. 6d. to 5s. and 6s. a week. Tenants have to do their own painting and wall-papering.

One miserable two-roomed house built up against the soil of the hill-side, which I visited in Dowlais, was in such a miserable state of disrepair, that a few days before a child had fallen through the floor of the bedroom into the kitchen below. One of the steps of the rickety stairway leading into the upper room, had broken away, leaving an opening across which one climbed up and down perilously, and through which an adult might drop. The roof was falling in. There was not so much as a sink on the premises, only a water tap in the kitchen and I am told that such poverty of accommodation is not uncommon in better and more highly rented houses. Seven people lived in this miserable hovel and the rent was 3s. 6d. a week. It was one of a long row of others of its kind.

It is not, as a rule, the colliers who are obliged to live in wretched hovels such as these, for, by generations of combined effort, they have secured for themselves a better position than that in which some of their poorer neighbours are placed.

Moreover, in the newer colliery towns and villages, an attempt is made to keep the refuse from the pits at a more reasonable distance from the dwellings, and the houses are of a better type. Many building clubs have been organised by the colliers themselves, and the houses built by these clubs and owned by the colliers are usually in advance of the general standard.

THE COLLIERS' VILLAGE.

But even the best of the mining villages offers but a narrow life to its inhabitants. The houses, though dry and watertight, are usually very cramped and small. The rents in the villages vary from 4s. a week for a four-roomed house, to 9s. a week for a six or seven-roomed house. (The houses, even in the small towns, cost more).

In the village there is usually, nowadays, a cinema theatre and a workman's institute, where there are a library and reading room and perhaps a billiard table.

The workmen's institutes are usually maintained by the colliers. At Abertillery the local members of the South Wales Miners' Federation pay 3d. each, one week, and 2d. the next, towards the up-keep of the workman's institute, to which a swimming bath is attached.

All this sort of thing is on a very restricted scale, and to buy a book, or anything beyond the barest necessaries, those who live in the villages must take the train to a town,—and that costs money.

Struggling proprietors of small shops and badly paid clerks—people who think they have "to keep up appearances," without the wherewithal to do it, often speak with bitter jealousy of the miners and better-paid artisans. They exaggerate the sums of money earned by manual workers, and minimise their needs. Many also, who have far more than is needed of material comforts, and who have never done a day's steady work in their lives, grudge the manual workers any little prosperity that they have been able to win for themselves, and wish to thrust them back into the extremes of poverty. Such people call the miner ignorant, but he is often more intelligent and better-read than his critics, to whose superficial judgment he appears only a man with blackened face and old and dusty clothes.

Even when the miner has washed off the coal dust, one may always recognise him by the many little bruises, showing like blue veins on his face and hands, that are caused by the coal that falls on him as he hacks it out of the earth. Cuts and bruises are the little ills that he is always suffering. They are lightly thought of, because of the fearful disasters that occur every now and then, usually because of defective ventilating or other machinery.

WAGES.

Certainly the wages of workers in and about the collieries are greatly exaggerated. The wage system in the Welsh coal field is most complicated, for to rates fixed in 1879, must be added an increase of 50 per cent. rising to 60 per cent. agreed to in 1910, and a further 17½ per cent. obtained this year. Moreover, the 1879 standard on which the other calculations are made, varies from district to district.

I was told that labourers on the surface of the mines in the Abertillery district were paid until now about 24s. a week. With the War bonus recently secured they receive about 35s. 6d. Lamplighters get rather less.

Colliers and timbermen in the same district get, with the War bonus, about £2 10s. a week when paid by the day. In Merthyr, colliers over 21, when not on piece work, are paid £2 11s. 8½d. and £2 8s. 5½d. Colliers' helpers £1 17s. 7½d., timbermen and repairers £2 8s. 5½d., assistant timbermen £1 17s. 7½d., ostlers and labourers £1 17s. 7½d., lamplighters £1 15s. 8¾d. Boys get from 14s. 11¾d., to £1 13s. 10½d., according to age. All these figures include the 17½ per cent. War bonus.

Where the conditions for getting coal are normal, colliers prefer to be paid by the piece. A miner's agent, near Senghenydd, told me that a good average worker earns on piece work 10s. to 12s. a day. A miner's agent near Abertillery told me that coal is cut at from 2s. 1d. to 2s. 4d. a ton, and that a collier will cut 20, 25, or 30 tons in a week. Each collier has a boy to work with him, whose wages he pays out of what is made by their joint output.

Be it remembered that every day not worked is an absolute dead loss, whether the worker is ill or there is no work for him, or the colliery is closed.

Such wages are not extravagant. One may go into comfortable miner's homes, where the people have been fortunate enough to enjoy a reasonable measure of health; the father has been strong and hard-working all his life, the mother is a good and careful housewife, the children, who are now grown up, are earning money on their own account. The kitchen will seem hospitable and inviting. You will see a roaring fire in the big open grate, a massive brass fender, and on the mantel-piece, six or eight brass candlesticks, kept brilliant by the expenditure of much energy on the part of the housewife. On Sunday, friends may be asked to dinner, and offered an abundance of well-cooked food. At tea, there will be home-made bread and Welsh cakes. The collier will probably own the house, and there will be a sitting room apart from the kitchen and probably a spare room for a guest. You may even hear of such things as a fitted bath with hot and cold water, having been put in at the family's own expense. You may find that some of the sons and daughters are at college, either in Cardiff, or in England. But they are not sent there without sacrifice. The work of the house is usually done by the mother and daughters, and homes so comfortably kept keep the housewife very much tied. Indeed, if one has a criticism to make, it must be that frequently the mother has too much to do, and too little opportunity for development.

Is such a way of life extravagant? Is it more comfortable than we should expect for every family? The miners have succeeded in obtaining for themselves an eight-hour day and a relatively fair standard of wages, only by ceaseless effort and by building up a strong Trade Union. Nothing has been conceded to them except by pressure of the strike in using which the men and their families must face hunger and cold and the risk of victimisation, which means the impossibility of ever getting work in any colliery again.

In many strikes the workers have also had to go homeless, for they have been evicted by the coalowners from whom they rented their houses.

TRADE UNION STRENGTH.

Ninety per cent. of the South Wales miners are members of the Federation, the remainder are usually men who move about from place to place and do not settle down. It is a common thing for the men to refuse to work if non-union men are employed and non-unionists are barred out entirely from many districts. Non-unionists are said to be always the first to cry "strike," but the first to give in when a strike is declared.

A very binding discipline cements the solidarity of the Miners' Federation.

The lodges make their own rules to suit local circumstances. In Abertillery the members pay in their trade union contributions as they leave work after drawing their wages. Every two months the officials of the Federation attend at the pit head for a show of members' cards. Those who have not paid their contributions up to date are made to go home, and so lose a day's pay. If anyone were to refuse the Federation official's order to go home and should insist on going down to work in the pit, the other men would refuse to descend, and work would be suspended for the day. Therefore, these things do not happen. Such rigid discipline may seem to the outsider a little tyrannical, but it is entered into by the majority vote of those who obey it. It is not imposed from without. Some people would like to suggest that the Welsh miners are the tools of their agents, who deal with disputes and compensation claims, and other officials, but this is far from being the case.

GRADUAL RISE IN WAGES.

The calculation of the miners' wages is a difficult matter, because it is based on percentages added by legal arbitrators as the result of a long series of strikes.

In 1879 a certain standard was set up. In 1910, 50 per cent. was added, which might be raised with the selling price of coal to 60 per cent. but not more.

The great national strike of miners secured the Miners' Minimum Wage Act, the Government being forced to intervene to protect the people and the industries of the country.

The miners went back to work on securing their promise of a minimum wage, but they gained no increase in their standard rates of wages. The Act of Parliament fixed no definite minimum, the actual sum of money to be paid being referred to arbitration. Lord St. Aldwyn then fixed as the standard legal minimum wage for South Wales the standard of the 1879 Agreement, plus 60 per cent. He preserved the local variations in wages which already obtained, and did not increase the actual wage by one penny. The thing that the Minimum Wage Act did for the miner was to give him the power to demand from his employer the agreed standard of pay which had been signed and sealed as the result of arbitration, and to prosecute his employer through

the courts if the standard were withheld.

In the early part of this year the Miners' Federation of Great Britain began to agitate for an increase in wages to meet the increased cost of living, and by Government intervention War bonuses were fixed for the entire country, which brought the miners in the Welsh coalfield a further 17½ per cent., bringing the total percentage on the 1879 standard up to 77½ per cent.

This 17½ per cent. bonus does not correspond with the increase which has taken place in the selling price of coal. Under the award of 1910, the miners' wages were to rise with the selling price of coal, but not beyond a maximum of 60 per cent., until the expiration of the five year's agreement.

Not until June, of this year, when the time was due for making a new agreement, could they claim a re-adjustment of wages.

The maximum of 60 per cent. was reached some 18 months ago, and as the price of coal was rising steadily, a re-adjustment was overdue before the time for making the new agreement came.

HOW THE TROUBLE BEGAN.

When the War started, the miners gave notice that if the owners would not raise the price of coal beyond its then price, they would not claim an increase of wages in June, although the increase was due to them. But the owners merely offered a War bonus of 10 per cent. if the miners would agree to work under the old agreement during the War, and continued raising the price of coal by leaps and bounds, as we know.

The miners with barely enough to live on in comfort, were willing to make a sacrifice for the sake of the people in general—the wealthy coal-owners who were making immensely increased profits, were not!

Yet the miner is perpetually facing awful dangers; whilst the coal owner runs no risks. He insures his property, even his income, against accident, and keeps his person safely above ground.

In preparation for the expiry of the five years' agreement in June, 1915, the officials of the South Wales Miners' Federation asked the owners to meet them in March, in order that a new agreement might be satisfactorily arranged. But the owners refused to discuss any new terms. When the Miners' Federation pointed out that if the new agreement were not ready by June, the men would refuse to continue working, and a stoppage of output, very awkward for the nation at this juncture, would result. The owners replied that they were not concerned to prevent a stoppage.

The owners have never yet conceded anything to the men, except under pressure of necessity, and no consideration of national need could induce them to do it now.

They probably hoped that patriotism, pressure of public opinion, or of Government coercion, would force the workmen to give way when the time came; and in any case they would put up the price of coal if there should be any trouble.

In the meantime every week of high prices that passed without a corresponding rise in wages, was a gain to the owners, and they wanted to keep things as they were as long as possible.

At last the old agreement terminated. The owners still refused a meeting, and the men gave notice that they would continue working for yet a fortnight, in order to allow still further time for negotiations, but that after that, if no agreement had been made, they would go on strike.

THE STRIKE.

At the end of the fortnight the men ceased work; confident that they were in the right, and conscious of their strength.

The Government put them under the Munitions Act, and threatened them with imprisonment and fine, but 200,000 men are not easily coerced. The miners dressed in their Sunday clothes, and watched the rest of the world go to its work.

Mr. Runciman intervened, but failed to secure a settlement. Then Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Arthur Henderson came to his aid.

With the agreement of the owners, which was, of course, wrung from them with difficulty, the three Cabinet Ministers gave an award in favour of the men, dealing with two important points:—

(1) That the 50 per cent. increase granted in 1910 should be added to the 1879 standard to make the 1915 standard, and that the men might now apply for an advance in wages to correspond with the rise in selling prices that has taken place since 1910.

To an outsider it may seem a very small point, as to whether the 50 per cent. should, or should not, be merged into the standard, but the miners have always had to fight for increases in their wages, and they know that it is easier to convince the public and the arbitrator of the justice of one's claim when the percentage asked above the standard does not appear too large. Moreover, they regard the sum that has been sanctioned as a standard, as a bedrock wage, not likely to be reduced in times of depression.

The men would have been entitled to the 17½ per cent. bonus which they had received if the selling price of coal at the pit's mouth had only risen by 3s. 6d. a ton since 1910; but as it has risen by over 8s. they should have more than double. They have decided to claim a further 15 per cent. increase through the Conciliation Board, dating from June, 1915.

THE BONUS TURN.

(2) That on the afternoon and night shifts 6 turns should be paid for 5 actually worked to all workmen who are now employed, or who may be employed, and who are, or may become, members of the South Wales Miners' Federation. In case the colliery is not working for 5 shifts, the workman is to be paid 1⅕ shifts for every shift worked, provided that he works each shift for which the colliery is open.

It is on the question of the bonus shift that the present trouble has arisen.

The matter is of immense importance to the Miners' Federation. They are determined that there shall be one trade union for the entire industry, for they have found that to have the enginemen, stokers, and others who are working on the service of the mines belonging to another union, which may not feel its interests to be in accordance with those of the miners, is a continual source of weakness.

The interests of the enginemen, stokers, and other craftsmen, who work at the pit head, are naturally more closely allied to those of the miners, than to those of men employed in similar trades in other parts of the country. The stokers, enginemen, and outside craftsmen know this; and recently a deputation of lodges from the Enginemens' and Stokers' Union waited on the South Wales Miners' Federation to arrange to become part of the Miners' Federation. But the rules of the enginemen and stokers, who form a registered trade union, will not permit them to do this, and the rules, according to the Registrar-General, cannot be altered until 1918. But the enginemen, stokers, and outside craftsmen can leave their unions as individuals, and join the Miners' Federation, and this they are doing in increasing numbers, whilst their old unions in the mining districts are dwindling away.

The Miners' Federation has fought and won all the battles of the outside workers on the pits, whilst the other Unions have merely drawn their contributions. If the enginemen, stokers, and others have come out in sympathy with the miners without the consent of their Unions, they have not been entitled to strike pay. If they have remained at work whilst the miners have come out on strike, they have enabled the employers to keep the pits working and to send blacklegs underground.

Apart from all this the Miners' Federation was determined to secure the bonus turn on the afternoon and and night shift for the enginemen and stokers who had joined the Federation, because they felt that they were as much entitled to it as any other section of the men.

Indeed, the stoker earns all he gets, as anyone must agree who sees him shovelling ton after ton of coal into the great furnaces, in the fierce heat that scorches him as he approaches the furnace door.

The employers, on the other hand, were not only desirous of giving the men as little as possible, as a general principle, but were specially anxious to divide into different camps, the miners and the men who work the engines which make it possible to keep the pits working. They therefore opposed setting up the same conditions for both bodies of men. In this dispute both mine owners and miners were entrenching themselves for the perpetual struggle.

Mr. Runciman must have grasped the point thoroughly. It was very clearly explained to him by the men. It was one of the points on which he refused to give way to the men, saying that trouble might be caused with other Trade Unions, and that the mine owners might have entered into special agreements with their enginemen and stokers.

But when Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Henderson were called in, this point, which had been much debated, was conceded to the men.

So it seemed that the miners had won. They returned to work, but many detailed matters, concerning the new agreement, were left over to be further arbitrated upon by an independent chairman.

RUNCIMAN DECEIVES THE MEN.

Mr. Runciman had succeeded in making the miners' representatives believe that he was favourable to their cause, and that though he had decided everything against them until the other Cabinet Ministers were called in, he had done so under the instructions of the Government as a whole, for he was then acting as President of the Board of Trade.

Therefore when the miners were asked to accept him as an independent chairman, they agreed to do so.

They put forward the following claims to be embodied in the new agreement:—

That as workers cannot obtain alterations in wages or working conditions without appealing to arbitration, employers may not introduce new conditions without also appealing. At present new conditions are introduced, and workers must go through a lengthy process of appeal against them.

Mr. Runciman refused this demand.

That the processes of arbitration should be shortened to take one month, instead of two months and 28 days, and other matters in regard to disputes.

Mr. Runciman said "No" on all points.

That the men should have reasonable facilities for attending funerals, that they should have a dinner interval of half-an-hour, instead of 20 minutes. That they should work six hours, instead of eight hours Sunday night, where they may be serving that night without the advantage of the bonus.

That surface men shall not work more than 8½ hours a day—the Miners' Eight Hour Act does not apply to them.

Mr. Runciman said "No" to all these points.

Coal at reduced price is supplied to miners by old agreement, but only to miners who are householders, and not whilst they are away from work.

The miners asked that colliers who may be living in apartments, as they often are through scarcity of houses, shall also be allowed the advantage of buying coal at reduced rates, and that when miners are absent through illness they shall not be debarred from having it.

Mr. Runciman said "No."

Miners on piece-work rates, as most of them are, are not paid for small coal, only for the bigger lumps. Yet small coal is, of course, quite saleable.

Some kinds of screening apparatus break the coal very much, so that much small coal is produced. The miners' pay is calculated after the coal has been screened, and they thus lose money.

The miners asked that no new screening apparatus should be introduced, except by agreement between the owners and the men.

Mr. Runciman said "No."

Thus Mr. Runciman had said "No" to the men on every point. His supposed friendliness had indeed vanished away!

But he did more than this, he allowed the coal owners to bring up again the two points that had been decided in the men's favour by himself, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Lloyd George. 1. That the men might apply for the increase in wages due to them at the expiry of the old agreement from June 20th.

2. That the bonus turn should apply to all workmen in or on the surface of the pits who were members of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

On the first of these points he decided that the men might not apply for an increase till September 1st. On the second he decided that the bonus turn should not apply to enginemen, stokers and outside craftsmen, whether they had joined the South Wales Miners' Federation or not, and that it should not apply to banksmen, because three banksmen work in rotation at a shaft, and not one of them works an entire week on the afternoon and night shifts.

The miners' representatives considered that Mr. Runciman had acted most unfairly in having decided every single one of the new points against them, and that he had not played the part of an arbitrator in any sense. But they blamed their own folly in having agreed to accept his decision as chairman, and felt that they must stand to their word and abide by the result.

But in so far as he had gone back on the decision of the three Cabinet Ministers, they held that he had overstepped the power entrusted to him, and they refused to accept his decision.

REFUSAL TO SIGN AGREEMENT.

They refused to sign the agreement and returned to Wales.

A conference was called in Cardiff and it was decided to send a deputation to the Government. The Government refused to receive the deputation, but the deputation went to London.

Negotiations were re-opened. The Government dared not persist in saying "no" to the South Wales Miners' delegates, for the men were prepared at any moment to cease work.

In the Abertillery district the mines were already idle, for when the enginemen, stokers and banksmen who were members of the Miners' Federation, realised that they were not to have the bonus turn, they ceased work. Unless the ventilating and other machinery is kept going, not a miner can descend, and unless the miners were prepared to work with imported strike-breakers, they must cease work in company with the enginemen and stokers. They did so willingly, in order to stand by their fellow members of the Federation.

It was arranged to call a conference of delegates from the entire coalfield at Cardiff on Tuesday.

On Sunday night, mass meetings of the miners were held in every district.

At Tonypandy, the scene of the riots of a few years ago, 6,000 men met in a bare, dingy looking rink. There were no seats, and that was as well, for only by standing close together could the numbers be packed in. The back of the platform was crowded with little lads, who, in spite of evident interest in the proceedings, shuffled about a good deal. They were tolerated with only occasional mild protests from their elders, because they also were workers in the pits, and affected like the men, by the momentous things under discussion.

Mr. Noah Ablett and Mr. Tom Smith, who are members of the

(Continued on page 312, col. 2.)

EAST LONDON FEDERATION OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

OBJECTS: To secure the Parliamentary Vote for every Woman over 21, and to promote the Social and Industrial Welfare of Women. Entrance Fee ... 1d. Subscription ... 1d. a Month.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BOW.

400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW.

The first Sunday in-door meeting of the Autumn Session will be held next Sunday, Sept. 5th, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Miss S. Pankhurst and Mrs. Schlette; Miss Manicom in the chair. An urgent appeal to members to turn up in full force, and to bring friends. Who will volunteer to chalk the meeting and to canvass the district with bills and papers on Friday and Saturday? Good meetings were held during the week in Bow and in Limehouse. Thanks are due to helpers at the stall and to paper sellers, but more helpers are urgently needed. We want more speakers, and it is proposed to start a Speakers' Class on Friday, Sept. 17th, 8 p.m., in the Women's Hall. The Club is to meet on Mondays only, and Friday is to be reserved for Branch Meeting and Speakers' Class. It is hoped that the would-be speakers from the whole Federation will join the class, and that names will be sent in without delay to Miss S. Pankhurst, who will take the class on Sept. 17th and 24th, and on Oct. 1st.

Dreadnought sales, week ending Aug. 28th—464. Miss O'Brien 300, Mrs. Crabb 40, Mrs. Farrall 39, Miss Bennett 34.

POPLAR.

THE WOMEN'S HALL, 20 RAILWAY ST.
Organiser: MRS. DRAKE.

Good meeting held on Tuesday evening; two new members were made; thanks to Miss Lynch.

We are soon to have another Demonstration so please do all you can to make this a great success.

Sunday in-door meetings will start again on Sunday, Sept. 19th, so please tell all your friends and let us open with a good meeting.

Dreadnoughts sold during week ending August 28th—91. Distributed 500.

Collected by Miss E. Lagsding and Miss J. Baillie at "Green's," Cubitt Town—10s.

BROMLEY.

Hon. Secretary: MRS. MANTLE,
53 St. Leonard Street.

Miss O'Callaghan spoke at 53 St. Leonard's St. last Thursday night. We do hope members will try and attend these meetings better in future. Thanks to those members who have taken extra copies of *Dreadnought*—we hope others will do the same. The Bromley League of Rights' Excursion to Harlow is only 2s. 4d.; all names must be given in before Sept. 6th. *Dreadnoughts* sold—48.

OTHER SOCIETIES.

NORTH LONDON M.P.U.

Hon. Sec.: MR. H. G. EVERETT.
c/o Mr. Innes, 31 Balmes Road, Southgate Road.

MOTTO: "VOTES FOR WOMEN NOW."

An extremely fine meeting was held in Finsbury Park on Sunday. Several *Dreadnoughts* were sold. Members are asked to support these meetings every Sunday at 3p.m.

All members are asked to support the next Demonstration and to make the *Dreadnought* well known, as we are very anxious to extend its circulation in N. London.

TWO-COURSE MEALS FOR 2d.

Those who already frequent our Cost-Price Restaurant at 400 Old Ford Road should tell their friends and fellow-workers about it. We supply a two-course dinner for 2d., children 1d.; 12—2 p.m. Customers say that workers do not know about our Restaurant, and that it is a great boon to get such a good, hot meal when away from home.

The Statement of Government Annuities for the last financial year shows that political pensions of £2,000, £900 and £1,200 are paid to Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Henry Chaplin, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh respectively.

£18,720 of public money was spent in perpetual annuities to the descendants of Nelson, etc.

Mr. J. W. Lowther, Speaker of the House of Commons, in a recent speech advocated the abolition or reduction of M.P.'s salaries as a means of thrift. "The time has come when the State ought to set a good example to the people," he remarked.

Let these unnecessary pensions and salaries be abolished before old age pensions are touched (unless it be to raise them) or any retrenchment is made in education and housing expenses!

The Cheshire Milk Producers' Association, which controls 2,000 dairies, recently recommended that the price for delivery to any distance during October be not less than 1s. a gallon, which is 1½d. to 2d. a gallon increase.

The advance is due to the *abnormal* shortage of labour and the increased cost of production.

And yet we hear of many people being unable to get work!

(*Continued from page* 311.)

South Wales Miners' Federation executive, and had been present at the various conferences, explained all that had taken place.

The speeches were quietly heard, with only a little clapping from a few now and then. Indeed, an outsider might have wondered as to the feeling of the majority.

Then a resolution was moved from the platform, that unless the London deputation should return to the conference on Tuesday, with news that the original award of the three Cabinet Ministers on July 20th, had been reinstated, work should cease. Now the temper of the audience began to reveal itself. From many quarters came an amendment to down tools at once. The platform would not accept the amendment, and argued good-humouredly with the audience that to wait for combined action on Monday would be best. Eventually this was agreed to by a unanimous show of hands.

Throughout the coalfield the decision went the same way, except in the Abertillery district, where the strike continued as before.

Monday and Tuesday were days of rumour and uncertainty, and the London deputation did not return to the conference, but telegraphed asking that there should be no strike until its return. By a narrow majority of a few votes, a resolution to take no step until the report of the deputation had been heard, was carried against a motion to strike at once.

Then the delegates hurried away to the districts where the men were meeting to decide how to act.

At Merthyr, the delegates advised the meeting to conform to the decision of the conference and the appeal of the London deputation. The meeting disposed of the matter very briefly. They were unshaken in their determination, but a day more or less seemed to make little difference to them, and with a calmness difficult to comprehend, they were prepared to turn their attention to discussing the work of the co-operative stores and to hearing speeches on other matters.

But in the Rhondda Valley and throughout other large areas of the coalfield another spirit held sway—a spirit that would have no more of the clogging atmosphere of delay and compromise, that lawyers and politicians weave to suffocate enthusiasm and prevent decisive action.

The miners of Tonypandy, Tonyrefail, the Garw Valley, and other districts, declared for an immediate strike, confident in their strength, feeling themselves the just instruments for the fighting of that system of greedy capitalism that sucks the very life blood from the poor and weak.

Perhaps they were striking for a point already won. They did not know, for no definite news from the deputation was to hand. They could not trust the newspaper accounts. They viewed the Government with profound distrust. In their meetings of last Sunday they had said: "If a man fools you once, shame on him—if he fools you twice, shame on you." They were acting on that to-day.

I shall always feel a sense of loss that I was not at the meeting in Tonypandy, at which the 10,000 men of the Cambrian Combine decided to come out on strike, but as I changed from train to train at Cardiff, I met a crowd of the Tonypandy men on their way to the Cory hall. They walked on air, their faces were radiant. One saw in them a vision of labour bursting its age-long chains.

Do not mistake the spirit that animates the miners in their conflict. It is no mere struggle for sordid gain, to obtain a few shillings a week on their wages, or a few moments docked from their working day.

It is a fight for a great principle—that the labourer shall enjoy the wealth that he creates, and shall work for and with a world of comrades, and not for a small master class. It is a fight in which no man strives for his own hand, but each for the welfare of the whole.

"Stand back from your struggle," the uncomprehending world cries to the miners, "Do you not know that your country is at War?"

They answer: "Even this War is being used to exploit the workers, to force us back in the struggle that we wage for humanity and the brotherhood of man." To those who say to them: "Think of the soldiers," they answer: "They are *our* comrades. It is *we* who care for them!"

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

CO-OPERATORS AND THEIR EMPLOYEES.

The shortage of labour and the consequent employment of women in grocery departments has led to trouble in the Co-operative movement at Sheffield. The Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees demand that women, after a probationary period of one month only, during which they will get 17s. a week, shall have men's wages, that is to say, a woman of 21 years of age is to have 26s. per week, and a woman of 25, 30s. per week. The women are to be employed for the period of the War only; the men who have left are to be reinstated in their old positions as soon as they apply for them. And the women are to be compelled to join a Union—which means the A.U.C.E.

In setting up such standards one serious danger must be guarded against. A worker of 24 frequently does as much and as good work as one of 28. If the worker of 24 is to be put in the actual place of the one at 28 at a lower wage, the tendency will be for the older to be thrust aside by the younger in every case. We look to the co-operative movement to set an example in such matters to the purely commercial world, and in many things it does. We know that some of the co-operators have set before themselves an ideal of apprenticeship, which would solve the difficulties arising from the employment of younger and older workers, by ensuring that some of the time for which the workers, who have not yet reached the full wage standards, are paid, shall be spent at educational classes.

Throughout the industrial world the problem is growing of the bright, young people, who, at a low wage, are often, at least as efficient and productive as older people, but who, later on, flag, because of their early exertions, and are then superseded by other child workers.

The demands of the Co-operative Employees' Trade Union have not been conceded in every case.

The Brightside and Carbrook Society demanded an extension of the probationary period to six months, and finally to three. The A.U.C.E. declined to yield, and the workers came out on strike.

In Sheffield and Ecclesall the A.U.C.E. demanded for women and girls 5/- a week at 14 years of age, 7s. at 15, 9s. at 16, and afterwards 11s. to 17s. according to ability.

The Co-operative Society offered a scale of 2s. a week at 14 years, 4s. at 15, 6s. at 16.

The workers have decided to strike.

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT!

The licensee of the "Grapes" Public-house, Bermondsey Wall, complained at Tower Bridge Police Court of the stench from the destruction by the Bermondsey Borough Council of huge quantities of bad eggs at a wharf opposite his premises. Mr. Clarke, who represented the council, said that owing to the War there was an abnormal number of bad eggs in the market. Tooley Street was the egg market for Great Britain, and it was the duty of the Borough Council to remove all the bad eggs as trade refuse or unsound food. The complaint was not groundless, but they were taking all possible means to destroy the eggs in the least objectionable way. The complainant said the state of things was worse than ever that morning, and he was told they had now another 4,000 cases of eggs to destroy. "They run a roller over the eggs," he said, "and then wash them down a drain. Think of 4,000 cases of bad eggs being smashed outside your house!"

All this waste shows scandalously bad organisation somewhere!

But what a disgrace that the richest city in the world is so behind-hand in its sanitary arrangements!

The estate office of the Duchy of Cornwall is about to build cottages at Kennington, with kitchen, scullery, and bedrooms, but no 'parlour.' As a reason for the abolition of this simple convenience, we hear that a parlour is "an unnecessary evil and expense in a poor man's house." The existence of a suite of reception rooms in the houses of the rich are naturally insignificant in comparison with this one parlour!

A simple solution to the problem the Duchy of Cornwall is trying to solve, would be to reduce rents so that the working-class family can afford their parlour, and not only that, but let these new houses be provided with bath-rooms as well.

A soldier writes to us from the trenches: "It is really high time the Government took steps to remedy the serious and important complaints regarding the high cost of living, the enormous profits certain firms are reaping during the War, the sweating evil in Army clothing factories, and the rotten under-payment of women in War munitions' work. We have now reached the time when the full value of women's work is just beginning to be realised by the Government and the country alike, and if it is worth while appealing for women's services and worth while employing them, then it is worth while paying them decent wages."

The result of the *Labour Leader* case was rather gratifying. The stipendiary magistrate restored the newspaper because he "saw no reason to suppress it." However, the 7,700 pamphlets which the police seized were ordered to be destroyed.

MEETING

Kingsley Hall,

BRISTOL.

Tuesday, September 7th, 8 p.m.

Speakers:

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST
EVELYN SHARP
R. L. OUTHWAITE
ROBERT WILLIAMS
W. MEYNELL
GEORGE LANSBURY

Chairman: **Councillor W. Ayles**

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND—Miss J. Mardon (DREADNOUGHT fund) 2.0, Miss Betty Scott 1.0, Miss A. St. John Adcock 1.0.

TOWARDS DEMONSTRATION EXPENSES.—Miss Caudlin, per Miss Stewart, 4.0.

FOR MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Mullins 5.0.0, Miss O'Brien (Golagany, India) 2.5.8, Tool-room, etc., London Small Arms 1.10.2½, Mrs. Garner 1.5.0, J. P. Armitage, Esq. 1.0.0, Mrs. Parsons 1.0.0, Mrs. Adams 1.0.0, Miss D. Hollins 10.0, per Mrs. Applin 7.0, Miss Phoebe Pirie 6.0, Mrs. Goldenburg 5.6, Tom Norris, Esq. (monthly) 5.0, per C. E. Foster, Esq. 5.0, Mrs. Usherwood 5.0, Misses H. & M. Black 5.0, Mrs. Dale 5.0, West Adams 3.6, Miss D. G. Langelaan 3.0, per Mrs. Bell 2.9½, Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly) 2.6, Mrs. Elizabeth Lacey 2.6, per Rev. C. A. Wills 2.0, Mr. Stiebel 2.0, Miss Osmond (weekly) 2.0.

COLLECTIONS.—Mrs. Crabb 1.0.2½, Mrs. Tollon 9.0½, Mrs. Mantle 8.6, Mrs. Bird 8.0½, International Suffrage Shop 2.2.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Miss Mackenzie, Mrs. Henry Boyle, Mrs. Churchman, Miss E. Canning, Miss D. G. Langelaan, Mrs. E. G. Warrick, Miss Lacey.

FLOWERS.—Mrs. Alchin.

GROCERIES.—Per Miss Batson.

WANTED.—WORK; three days a week; cleaning, house-work, dress-making or underclothing.—Apply "Box 26."

WANTED.—WORK; cleaning, cooking or cording babies' stays.—Apply "Box 100."

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